1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived
684 with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
835 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young
159 gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
[753] came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother were his wives at the same time. The people ' laughed at him ' so much because he had made such a horrifying ' mistake ' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was ' nonsense ' to fall in love with one's stepfather.
[154] Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, ' When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed ', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

183 Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
553 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
582 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
608 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
835 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, ' If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

[572] The word */kamheri* was used by ||Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep feeling of friendship for John Marshall. ' We are such friends that we are */kamheri* ', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is 684 837 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a [586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover. 153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to 182 look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

185 The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it 578 group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers [411] sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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dangerous under these conditions. Anger turns upon the adulterer. We were never told about a woman being killed or even very severely punished, but a husband is considered to be quite within his rights by /Kung rules of conduct if he kills a man who sleeps with his wife. However, the adulterer may fight back. With poisoned arrows both men might be killed. Fighting is so dangerous it is feared by the /Kung with a pervading dread.

Nevertheless, although prudence counsels against it and anxiety attends it, adultery does occur. During the years from 1951 to 1958, five instances in our sample came to our knowledge. When it did occur, the most clearly observable behaviour was the attempt on the part of related persons and other members of the band to help resolve the situation in order to avoid fighting and discord, for fighting, like fire, may spread and consume much before it is quenched.

A husband and a young widower had quarrelled and almost fought over the attentions of the young widower to the wife. The fight had been averted by the husband running away. He came to Gautscha where we were with Band 1. When I saw him handling his weapons, his face contorted with emotion, visions possessed me of the two men, both angry and afraid, shooting each other in nervous self-defence, writhing, bleeding, and dying in agony, and I was as filled with the fear of fighting as any Bushman. But before sundown that day the affair was resolved in the following fashion. A relative of the young widower undertook to use his influence and went and brought the young widower and the wife to Gautscha. The relative had two motives. He wanted peace, as everybody does, and he wanted no disgrace in his family which the affair would bring, for the young widower and the wife were sexually taboo, albeit in the mildest and most extended way. He was an able man and he succeeded. The pair agreed to his behests. When they arrived at Gautscha the wife went directly to her husband and, to our suprise, in a few minutes they left the werf with their child and came over to our camp, where they settled themselves right in our cleared camp space. Presently the young widower came too, with his three children, and settled himself beside the others. Under our wings they had less fear of each other's flares of temper and tensions relaxed. In a day or so the young widower left. Peace prevailed. The wife was still with her husband in 1958. The young widower was taken by the B.P. authorities, we heard, for killing a man in another quarrel over a woman.

When John Marshall was with Band 1 in 1957–8, ≠Gao Lame, the unmarried young headman, took to sleeping with /Ghia, the second wife of Old ≠Gao, headman of Band 10. Nobody seemed to expect a great deal of /Ghia, who was thought not to have very good sense, and she was not blamed nearly so much as ≠Gao Lame. His family railed at him quite openly. ' People get killed doing that ', said /U, his sister (≠Toma's wife). ≠Gao Lame eventually stopped sleeping with /Ghia. John thought the group's expressed opinion really did influence him. Furthermore, ≠Gao decided it would be best to go to Old ≠Gao and say he was sorry. Old ≠Gao said ≠Gao Lame was right to come directly to him and that they should not fight. He gave /Ghia a mild thrashing instead. Then /Ti/kay of Band 9, who was /Ghia's MoBr, roused up the whole affair by claiming that when ≠Gao Lame ' insulted ' /Ghia he also insulted him—/Ti/kay. /Ti/kay, the husband of the two charming sisters, an intense and vital man, especially gifted in performing the curing ceremonies

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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159 627 684 578 as a medicine man, although in a cool moment he could speak eloquently and philosophically about the evils of fighting, was an erratic person, self-centred, frightfully jealous, shrewd to see that no one got more than he, quick to take offence. Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, husband of ≠Gao Lame's older sister, Di/ai, shouted out that /Ti/kay was a trouble-maker not to leave well enough alone. /Ti/kay thereupon foully insulted Gao Medicine, who shouted back that /Ti/kay was not fit to be a headman. /Ti/kay, now in a rage, called out that Gao lied to his own arrows. John said that some of the people flattened down on the ground or got behind things at this point. But two of /Ti/kay's half-sisters, who were present, threw themselves on him, pulled him away, and sat down beside him, holding his arms. He quieted down and Gao Medicine also sat down and was quiet. As the tempers cooled, peace took hold once more and, John says, the affair did not flare up again, at least during the remaining weeks he was there.

In some societies it would be incumbent upon kin such as MoBr or SiHu to feign anger and make a show of fighting to satisfy the conventions of honour. We observed no episodes which raised this question other than the above. John was strongly of the opinion that the emotions were genuine and that /Ti/kay's temper, which we had all experienced two or three times before, had released itself once more, but that once more a fight had been averted because people wanted peace and harmony most of all.

Illegitimacy

848 851 There were no illegitimate children in our sample in the years 1952–3 and we discovered no social norms established with respect to illegitimacy. Girls are usually married before they are old enough to have children. But, we asked, what would happen if a girl had a baby before she was married? People said the parents would go to the father of the child and say he must marry their daughter. Did they know anyone who had done this? No.

Suppose that a child were conceived in adultery and it were known with certainty that the father was not the woman's husband, what would happen to that child? we asked. The baby would be kept by its mother, of course. After they had talked things over among themselves, one informant said, and others agreed, that they thought, if the woman's husband fed the child for years while it grew, he would be justified in keeping the child and the biological father should not try to take the child away.

159 848 There is such a child now in Band 9. In 1955 or 1956 white farmers came into the Nyae Nyae region and illegally recruited some /Kung families. These families tried to run away from the farms some time later. They told us that they were followed by two white men and a white woman on horseback with guns, led by a ' tame ' Bushman tracker. These people forced the /Kung to return to the farm by threats and pointed guns. In the fracas some of the /Kung got away. Husbands and wives were separated. When the S.W.A. authorities learned on which farm these /Kung families were, they acted promptly to restore them to their bands, and fined the farmer, but two years had passed. One girl had had a child by one of the /Kung men. Once they were all restored to Nyae Nyae, the girl went back to her own husband with her baby boy, and was with him in 1958. The people said the baby's bio-

/148 cont./

628 684 captivity. Blood vengeance is exacted by the Bushmen for adultery under all circumstances.

J. Luxuries

276 [439] Tobacco, which is exclusively an imported product, is greatly coveted. A pipe of tobacco is the Auin's greatest pleasure. [Fig. 10 appears here.]

Taking snuff is unknown.

Everybody smokes, including little children.

324 The Auin manufacture a tobacco pipe (see Fig. 10) from a soft red stone (serpentine) which supposedly is found only at the watering place Korikas. Indeed, immediately above the source, one does find a kind of modest quarry there.

/149/ A fragment of this stone is conically hollowed out with a lance point or an iron knife and then shaved down on the outside toward the hollow until the wall is about two to four millimeters thick. This pipe resembles an ordinary conical cigar 276 tip. A wadding made from the nest of the weaver bird (?) prevents the tobacco from falling out.

Occasionally one will also see a pipe plug or cleaner which usually is made of rosinkis wood without the bark and is attrac- [531] tively decorated with a kind of pyrography. The decoration consists of lines and dots scratched in with a red-hot needle. The hairline precision of the lines is particularly striking.

The pipe plug (see Fig. 11) is worn around the neck on a chain of glass beads or on a leather belt (see also Photo. 1, the second man from the right).

The Auin only occasionally receives tobacco, either from [439] the Whites when he performs services for them as a messenger, [648] guide, and the like, or from Kaffirs employed by Whites, who exchange it for veld food.

Hemp or dacha of the Kaffirs (haium of the Auin).

Hemp is smoked in the ordinary tobacco pipes with equal passion by men and women.

I did not see anyone who had become ill from smoking hemp. The Auin themselves were only aware that its enjoyment sometimes produces nausea.

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war
727 are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

606 It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

163 I noted that most women had two or three children who were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

591 The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband, not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

851 The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separation of the marriage partners.

● 684 837 Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

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782
769 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782
881 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

787
695
684 "If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
● 684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
681 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
1178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

ZAUIN NAGAU

[72 cont.] THE SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do violence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

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Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent.
606 It is curious to note how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids his mother-in-law's company and does not sit with her. For example, when he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law goes away. If it is absolutely necessary for him to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.
163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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601 and most of the persons who eventually become his secondary affines would be name-relatives. They keep whatever term they had and add */umba* or */undai*. Theoretically, if they should not have a name-relationship they would fall back on the generational method.

When terms are applied to secondary affines by the generational method, the primary affine is the point of reference. Ego applies a term to the parent or child of the primary affine which is in the alternate generation terminologically to that of the primary affine. A term in the same generation terminologically as that of the primary affine is applied to the sibling of the primary affine. The list of terms on p. 16 shows the correspondence of the generational terms with the affinal terms. Diagram 8 (p. 17) illustrates this situation.

Consanguineous relatives of ego's may be named for secondary affines as well as primary affines. When they are, ego applies to them the same term which he applies to the secondary affine but drops */umba* and */undai*.

All relatives to whom the generational and sibling terms are applied, except name-relatives (see p. 15), have terms applied to their spouses by ego which are paired with the generational and sibling terms as listed below.

Generational or sibling term for males	*Spouse*	*Generational or sibling term for females*	*Spouse*
tsu	//ga or /utsu (//ga is preferred for FaBrWi or MoBrWi; /utsu is preferred in other relationships)	//ga or di/guma	tsu or tun/ga m.s. (tsu is preferred for FaSiHu and MoSiHu; tun/ga is preferred in other relationships)
/gu/na	tũn	tũn	/gu/na or tun/ga w.s.
tun/ga w.s. when collateral when affine	tũn w.s. /kwi w.s.	/gu/na w.s.	tun/ga w.s.
/go or tsi	tũn m.s. /utsu w.s.	/kwi or tsi	tun/ga

Part II: Some Aspects of Behaviour as Related to Categories of Kin

Marriage

842 The /Kung know that biological descent is from the father and mother, believing that the father's semen unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form the child. But their language does not emphasize the concept of blood as ours does. A 602 /Kung speaks of a person who has blood ties with himself as being of his own people, emphasizing the phrase in some way, as when we say ' very own '.

582 Marriage with any consanguineous kin is forbidden in /Kung culture. This prohibition is quite strictly obeyed. The very thought of marriage with a parent, off- ●684 spring or sibling is horrifying to the /Kung. They could hardly be brought to talk about such ' bad things '. They told us about a man who married a woman and her

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are 'like' parents. Cousins, they say, are 'like' siblings and nephews and nieces 'like' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking.

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung.

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms ≠*tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years.

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun!ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory.

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *//ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed.

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him.

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Ukwane's band.

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran away from her husband to take up with another man. She had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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837 with the woman who becomes his wife; at the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with women, whether
●684 married or unmarried, other than his wife or wives. Marital infidelity appears to be severely condemned by all the Bushmen. Among the Naron, for example, a man who catches his wife misconducting herself tries to kill her lover and beats her, but he generally does not drive her away if she has children.[1] Marital fidelity among the Auen is said to be fairly well maintained. When adultery does occur, the adulterer is, if possible, killed, while the wife is more or less severely beaten, according to the temper of the husband; she is apparently never killed. Kauffman adds that there nevertheless appears to
[548] exist a form of prostitution in which a married woman offers herself to different men for gifts, although if this comes to the notice of the husband he will drive her away. Our author finds it difficult to reconcile this with the blood vengeance exercised in case of adultery, but adds the explanation given him by the people, that "if a woman is intimate with many men, the husband can hardly wage 'war' with them all".[2] Of the Kung Lebzelter says merely that the adulterer is killed, and the guilty wife thrashed.[3] Among the Namib Bushmen, again, an adulterer can either be killed or forced to pay compensation. We are not told, however, the circumstances under which one alternative is exercised rather than the other, nor in what the compensation consists. The wife is sent away, and the adulterer, if unmarried, is then expected to marry her. If she is pregnant the child
[848] must be reared by him, and sent back when grown up to the original husband.[4]

114 684 In all these cases, it will be noticed, we have to deal with generalized statements. In no instance is any concrete illustration given of what actually took place in such cases of adultery as may have come under the observation of our authorities. It is not possible, therefore, to decide how much truth really underlies the statements that the adulterer is generally killed. It is evident, however, that the sexual prerogatives conferred by marriage are jealously guarded. Unfortunately almost all the information bearing on this point refers

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 34; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 106.
[2] Op. cit., 136, 157.
[3] Op. cit., 14.
[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168. Seydel (op. cit., 305) states that while formerly blood vengeance was invariably exercised in case of adultery, nowadays the reaction has been toned down, and the guilty party ("der schuldige Teil") is merely thrashed very severely ("halbtot") with a stick!

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful.

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1]

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection.

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.

[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

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681 There are, further, various sanctions by which non-fulfilment or the breach of any recognized custom is penalized, and which thus also serve as another and more direct means of securing conformance with the pattern of social life. In this category we may place ritual sanctions, where any departure from a prescribed rule of conduct is followed automatically by evil results, without any direct interference on the part of the community. The breaking of a taboo, for instance, is [784] held to produce serious consequences, such as death or disease or ill-luck in the chase. Thus among the Cape Bushmen, as we have seen, girls who do not observe the restrictions imposed upon them at the time of puberty are believed to change into frogs, while men who are seen by the girls at this time become permanently fixed in whatever position they then occupy, and so on. And again there are the [224] numerous observances and avoidances associated with hunting, which if neglected will result in ill-success, the loss of a wounded animal, etc. All sanctions of this sort—and in the preceding pages we have had occasion to notice a good many of them—may be regarded as legal mechanisms, in the sense that they operate to maintain the observance of accepted usages and customs.

627 Other breaches of custom, however, involve the direct intervention of the members of the community. In general, when disputes arise [578] between the members of the band—among the Naron they are said [692] to be infrequent—there is no appeal to any supreme authority, for, as we have just noted, there is no such authority, nor are cases of wrongdoing or quarrels referred to the chiefs where these exist. The only remedy is self-help. But in so far as self-help is the recognized mode of reaction, it must also be regarded as a legal institution. Blood vengeance indeed is the principal, if not the only, recognized way of dealing with serious offences committed against a person even by members of the same band.[1]

The principal actions penalized in this way are adultery, theft, and [684] homicide. In the case of adultery, as we have already seen, the injured husband attempts to kill the adulterer, if he possibly can, while the unfaithful wife is beaten and in some cases divorced. Theft also [685] provokes blood vengeance, when the thief refuses to restore the stolen property.[2] Even if he does, he is reproached for his deed, and

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 155; Trenk, op. cit., 169; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35–6.

[2] According to one of the texts published by Bleek and Lloyd (*Bushman Folklore*, 416–25), among the Kung a man who steals in the camp is killed by the others present, who all shoot at him with their arrows. A married woman who steals is also sometimes shot by her own husband. More frequently, however, she is burned alive in a hut; although, if her parents are